DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 292 165 CS 506 086

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TITLE Regional Analysis of the Coverage of Reverend Jesse Jackson: The Confirmation of the Candidate.
PUB DATE Nov 85
NOTE 30p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association (Denver, CO, November 7-10, 1985).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Newspapers; *News Reporting; Persuasive Discourse; *Political Candidates; *Presidential Campaigns (United States); *Press Opinion
IDENTIFIERS Chicago Tribune; *Jackson (Jesse); Los Angeles Times; New York Times; Political Communication; Press Criticism; Washington Post

ABSTRACT

A study examined the coverage of the 1984 Jesse Jackson presidential campaign in the "New York Times," "Washington Post," "Chicago Tribune," and "Los Angeles Times," noting (1) the number of stories that mention Jackson; (2) the total column inches devoted to the stories mentioning Jackson; (3) subject matter of the story; (4) degree of bias inherent in the story; and (5) mediated image as reflected by descriptive references to the candidate in the coverage. The period of examination was from November 3, 1983 to April 11, 1984. Results showed that the "Los Angeles Times" contained the most column inches of campaign coverage, and the "Washington Post" featured the most exclusive stories. In addition, analysis showed little difference in topics covered on the Jackson campaign among the various newspapers, and that all emphasized Jackson's problems with Jewish voters. With the exception of the "Tribune" (which displayed a negative bias), the tone of the Jackson coverage was judged to be generally fair and straightforward. The mediated image throughout the months reflected a gradual evolution in coverage from "black civil rights leader" to "Democratic candidate for president." It was also noted that the coverage of the campaign followed the "confirmation" paradigm of press coverage (going through the phases of announcement, definition, judgment, debunking, and conversion), and that Jackson's campaign was characterized by an intense debunking period. (A table of data is included and 12 end notes are attached.) (ARH)

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REGIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE COVERAGE OF REVEREND JESSE JACKSON: THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CANDIDATE

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Paper presented for the 71st Annual Meeting
of the Speech Communication Association
at Denver, Colorado, November 7-10, 1985

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Jesse Jackson's Presidential Campaign

The Reverend Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential campaign motivated thousands of citizens throughout America to take a more active role in politics. From his announcement for the office in November to his stirring convention speech in San Francisco, Jackson outlined his positions and appealed for all Americans to join his "Rainbow Coalition." His campaign presented a challenge not only to the American system of government, but also posed a dilemma to journalists charged with campaign reporting. How much coverage should a reporter give to Jesse Jackson's campaign? Should he be treated like an Alan Cranston or Walter Mondale, or did the historical impact of his being the first black candidate to make a serious bid for the presidency warrant a different approach in press coverage? Highlighting this dilemma, Dates and Gandy note:

> Jackson's candidacy was a challenge for the press because on the one hand journalistic traditions would dictate that the ideological orientation of the media organization would constrain its coverage to be consistent with longstanding editorial practice.(1)

Yet, as Gandy and Dates point out, the national press was

aware of the "persistent complaints from their critics that they openly discriminated against minorities, or systematically ignore them."(2) Given such constraints, interesting questions remain: How much attention and focus did Jackson's racial heritage receive in the coverage? Did race shape the story's content? Were there questionable descriptive references to Jackson's blackness? What was the mediated image of Jesse Jackson as reflected in the newspaper coverage? Were there notable trends in different parts of the country? Gandy and Dates write that "Media observers felt that Jesse Jackson was treated differently from other candidates because he had no real chance of winning the nomination." (3)

PURPOSE

In the effort to shed light on these and other pertinent questions, this study examines the print media coverage of the 1984 Jackson presidential campaign in the **New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times.** Content analyses in terms of the following areas of interest were conducted: 1) number of stories that mention Jackson. 2) total

column inches devoted to the stories mentioning Jackson. 3) subject matter of the story. 4) tone of coverage--degree of bias inherent in the story, i.e., a) straight news story or no discernable bias; b) evaluative or negative connotations inherent in the coverage, and 5) mediated image as reflected by descriptive references to the candidate in the coverage.

Following the descriptive analysis, a paradigm will be outlined and discussed to help illustrate the various phases in the campaign coverage of the Jackson campaign.

METHOD

In the attempt to observe possible trends on these variables within the selected sample, each newspaper's daily edition was examined from November 3, 1983, which marked the beginning of major coverage on Jackson's impending announcement, through April 11, 1984 the day after the Pennsylvania primary. In a pilot based on a sample of stories, the researcher independently coded and cross-examined results to assure consistency in categorization.

RESULTS

Following the discussion of the actual number of stories and column inches, and each month's topic, tone, and mediated image, overall trends were summarized.

NUMBER OF STORIES AND COLUMN INCHES

Of all newspapers studied during the period, the **Los Angeles Times** devoted more total inches and included more stories with some reference to Jackson (See Chart 1). In comparison, Jackson's hometown paper, **The Chicago Tribune** had less than half such total inches and the least amount of Jackson exclusive stories. The highest number of exclusive Jackson stories (95) was found in the **Washington Post**. The **New York Times** had the highest ratio--approximately two out of three--of Jackson exclusives to general reference stories. In contrast, while the **Los Angeles Times** had a comparable number of exclusives, less than half of their total general reference stories were devoted solely to Jackson.

In terms of distribution as a percent of total general reference stories, there was a proclivity for exclusives to appear in early months of the campaign. Nonetheless, at any given time within all papers, at least one out of three of the general reference stories was a Jackson exclusive. Out of the

606 general reference stories of the four papers for the period examined, 56% or 341 were Jackson exclusives.

SUBJECT MATTER ARTICLES

NOVEMBER

TOPIC

While all papers carried stories on Jackson's announcement and the impact of his candidacy during the month of November, the **Los Angeles Times**, **Washington Post**, and **Chicago Tribune** highlighted Jackson's appeal among blacks and his efforts to increase this constituency's registration. Yet, inherent in all papers was the theme that Jackson had no chance of winning the nomination, with the **Tribune's** tone being the most negative--"Jackson gambles and dragged along the entire democratic party."

Jackson's problem with Jews was addressed in coverage by all papers except the **Post**. The **Los Angeles Times** coverage of a speech in which the candidate attacked organized labor's racial policies included the reporter noting that Jackson had been

interrupted by hecklers of the Jewish Defense League who yelled, 'Racist, anti-semite!'"

In reporting the request for secret service protection, the **Los Angeles Times** again mentioned the Jewish issue: "...supporters requested protection because of whites opposed to his candidacy and those who reject his call for a Palestinian homeland." There was no mention of the Jewish issue by the **Tribune** in its coverage of the story.

TONE

The tone of the coverage during November was judged overall to be objective, with the exception of the **Tribune** which described the Jackson campaign as one of "contrdictory themes" and exhibiting a "lack of direction...a lack of substance to the rainbow coalition."

MEDIATED IMAGE

The most common descriptive reference or mediated image of Jackson in newspaper coverage was "civil rights leader" or "civil rights activist." The only exception was the Tribune which commonly referred to the candidate as "Chicago's Jesse

Jackson." With the exception of the **Post**, the newspapers also commonly described Jackson as "the only black candidate."

DECEMBER

TOPIC

Jackson's proposed Syrian trip was a major issue for coverage in all papers. The IRS investigation into Jackson's Operation Push received coverage in the **Post** and **Tribune**. Jewish criticism of Jackson's Middle East policy was featured in the **Los Angeles Times**, which reported that a meeting with Gary Hart had been called off "due to Jackson's PLO leanings."

TONE

The **Tribune** coverage continued to be more evaluative than straightforward news. Columnist John Margolis wrote, "Jackson's campaign is an unconventional anti-establishment campaign"; that reporters "allow him to get away with the sweeping rhetoric that is Jackson's specialty"; and that "he often displays an extraordinary ignorance of what he is talking about."

MEDIATED IMAGE

Mediated image was primarily characterized by references to "civil rights leader." The **New York Times** coverage contained more descriptive references to Jackson's race, designating him as the "only black," the "lone black" or the "black civil rights leader" in over half of the stories. Other papers tended not to include a racial reference in their coverage.

JANUARY

TOPIC

Jackson's successful trip to Syria, the release of Lt. Goodman, and the impact of the event on the campaign dominated coverage in all newspapers. There were also stories of Jackson's presidential debate coverage throughout the studied media. Specifically, another story on the double standard or special treatment Jackson was receiving by the media occurred in the **Los Angeles Times**. The **Los Angeles Times** also noted a failure of the campaign to attract the support of national urban black leaders. The IRS investigation into Operation Push received front page coverage in the New York Times and Tribune.

TONE

The Los Angeles Times noted that "race still casts a disturbing shadow over political campaigns and that "Jackson doesn't get measured by his merits because of the race issue." Yet, even this tone paled in comparison to what appeared to be a consistent negative tone emerging in Tribune coverage. The Tribune described the Syrian trip as "an enhancing public relations coup" and included "black's views" of the Jackson effort: "his campaign is on an ego trip...He tries to annoint himself as a pre-eminent leader."

MEDIATED IMAGE

The Jackson mediated image was broadened and legitimized by his Syrian success. In January, he was now commonly referred to as a "Democratic presidential candidate." Nonetheless, the Tribune wrote of Jackson being "a preacher turned activist"; "self-annointed as America's pre-eminent leader"; that he "had slim chances of winning," and of his efforts to "lead a movement or crusade." The New York Times referred to him as a "gambler" and "leader in the black civil rights movement," noting the

candidate's efforts to "lead a movement or a crusade."

FEBRUARY

TOPIC

The major issue in all papers analyzed was the "Hymie" incident and the candidate's effort to explain the remark. Yet, there was a nine day delay in the **New York Times** picking up the story which broke in the **Washington Post** on February 11. The **Tribune** and **Los Angeles Times** major coverage of the incident occurred two weeks later in the context of the New Hampshire debate. Jackson's ties with Islam leader Louis Farrakhan was highlighted in all papers except the **New York Times**. Mayor Harold Washington, the highest ranking black official to support Jackson's candidacy, was noted in the **Washington Post** and **Tribune**, with the **Post** also including a picture of Louis Farrakhan registering to vote for the first time in his life. The **Los Angeles Times** and the **Tribune** included stories on Jackson's plans to visit Nicaragua.

TONE

A mood change took place in the overall tone of all four

papers. The Los Angeles Times coverage included comments by an unnamed critic who characterized Jackson as on an "ego-trip...it's sort of a plastic Jesus campaign, anything goes until the whistle blows." Nancy Skelton wrote that the Jackson New Hampshire campaign has caused locals to display the same "intense curiosity that the Chinese might have displayed when Marco Polo's caravan came through," quoting a resident who said, "locals aren't used to seeing that many blacks."

The Tribune continued in its critical style: "the controversy surrounding the anti-semitic remark attributed to Jackson has several parallels to Watergate." In addition, the Tribune noted that "gone is the firebrand revivalist kind of significance of the "Hymie" and Farrakhan incidents, which continued to receive coverage in the papers. Yet, there was a shift to other topics in all newspapers reviewed following Jackson's success in the eastern primaries late in the month. Coverage focused on the impact of Jackson's candidacy in the southern primary states where large numbers of black voters resided. On this topic, there was a tendency to include racial references in describing Jackson, particularly in the New York Times, which included a reference to "plantation politics."

TONE

For the first time all papers tended to be more objective in tone, with the primary impetus for the mood change Jackson's success in the New York primary.

MEDIATED IMAGE

The mood change in mediated image was evident in the **Tribune's** coverage. Jackson was referred to as "flamboyant," "charismatic" and compared favorably with Martin Luther King. The **Los Angeles Times** and **Post** primarily described Jackson as a "civil rights leader." Yet, more importantly there were more references to Jackson simply as a "democratic presidential candidate" following the primary in New York. This marked the first time in such coverage where simple reference to Jackson's role in the campaign served as the predominant descriptive term. The exception to the finding was the **New York Times** where Jackson was sometimes referred to as the "premier black leader."

APRIL

TOPIC

Issues included: Jackson's strength in the primaries, as a possible powerbroker at the convention, the impact of race in politics as the "Hymie-Farrakhan-Jewish" issue. The financial problem of Operation Push was also covered in the Post and Los Angeles Times.

TONE

Tone reflected a more objective reporting style in all papers. Jackson was viewed as an "equal" and serious contender evaluative remarks was Jackson's refusal to denounce Farrakhan which Ron Smothers of the New York Times characterized as "a bit inciteful and intemperate."

MEDIATED IMAGE

The media image in the papers continued to reflect a legitimazation of the Jackson candidacy. He was commonly referred to as a "Democratic presidential candidate," and there were fewer racial descriptive references in the coverage.

SUMMARY OF TREND ANALYSIS

TOPIC

The analysis suggests there to be little difference in topic covered on the Jackson campaign among the various newpapers during the time period studied. Yet, in particular instances, one newspaper broke a story earlier than others. For example, Operation Push's problems with the IRS was initially reported by the Tribune and later addressed in the other papers. Furthermore, throughout the time period analyzed, Jackson's hometown paper tended to offer more specific and critical comments about the candidate.

A major theme running throughout the analyzed coverage was the problem Jackson's candidacy had with a traditional member of the Democratic coalition--the Jewish voter. Mentioned in the context of stories of Jackson's visit to Los Angeles in November, the issue's significance grew and began to dominate coverage with the Post's reporting of the "Hymie" comment in February and the follow-up in the other papers. Louis Farrakhan's remarks concerning Jews, and his support of the Jackson candidacy coupled with the negative press on the Jewish issue and the candidate's attempt to deal with the controversy, replaced the Syrian diplomatic trip as a dominant theme of the Jackson campaign coverage in February and March. Only Jackson's

success in the primaries in late March re-established the focus on the candidate's performance rather than speculation on the Jewish issue.

TONE

With the exception of the Tribune, the tone of the Jackson coverage was judged generally to be fair and straightforward. However, there was a notable mood change to a more biased and critical tone during the height of the "Hymie-Farrakhan-Jewish" issue coverage in February and March. The analysis revealed the Tribune's tone to have been primarily evaluative, displaying negative bias in its coverage of Jackson's campaign efforts.

Following the candidate's success in some of the eastern primaries in late March, all paper, including the Tribune, tended to be more objective and straightforward in their news reporting of the Jackson effort.

MEDIATED IMAGE

The most common descriptive reference to Jackson during the five months of analyzed coverage across all newspapers was "civil rights leader." The New York Times coverage contained

more racial adjectives in its descriptive accounts. The racial references in the other papers tended to dissipate as the campaign progressed with a definite mood change occurring after Jackson's success in the New York primary. Then, in what seemed to be legitimatization of his candidacy, the papers tended to drop the racial reference and primarily referred to Jackson as a "Democratic Candidate."

THE PRESS AND THE SPECIAL CANDIDATE

In their study of the Jackson campaign and the press, Gandy and Dates write:

> Contrary to our notions of newspapers as reliable sources for informed discussion of campaign issues and candidate preparedness, newspapers appeared to place great emphasis on considerations of the style of the Jackson campaign. (4)

This descriptive analysis suggest that the newspapers studied did devote significant attention to Jackson's style, and to his race. The mediated image throughout each of the months reflected a gradual evolution in coverage--from the initial months as a "black civil rights leader," eventually to Jackson as a "Democratic candidate for president." Yet, this legitimization was the product of a long process, and even in April, one of the nation's leading voices in journalism, the

New York Times, and particularly the articles by Howell Raines, frequently referred to Jackson's racial background as a descriptive reference to the candidate.

Study of the Jackson campaign suggest important phases in the press coverage of special candidates. The authors identify these phases within the "Confirmation" paradigm of press coverage. The allocation of coverage appears to follow a series of five different orientations or approaches of the press in identifying and responding to the legitimacy or confirmation of the candidate, who is unique due to race, ethnicity or gender.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The first phase centers on the candidate's announcement to run for office. During this period, which comprised roughly the month of November and December in the Jackson campaign, coverage is primarily concerned with investigating and exploring the identity of the candidate, and focusing on the historical nature of his/her bid for office. Descriptive personal references, as well as the subject matter of the stories and context, reflect the race, ethnicity or gender

background of the candidate. The overall tone of the coverage is generally neutral to positive. The candidate is still relatively unknown, and the press and public know little about the nature and substance of the aspirant.

DEFINITION

The second phase is the definition period. Here, the candidate is associated with issues and particular character traits. The press strives to make generalizations and value judgments concerning the credibility and efficacy of the candidate. Coverage in this definitional period focuses on a combination of factors: 1) the success fo the candidate in controlling the mediated message in the effort to expand his/her poliical base, 2) the agenda-setting function of the press in associating the candidate with particular issues and images deemed important by the journalist.(5)

In the Jackson campaign, this definition period occurred roughly in January and early February when the candidate's trip to Syria and when other foreign policy ideas were featured in the campaign coverage. Tone of coverage during this press period can be either positive or negative, depending on the performance of the candidate. In this phase, new descriptive

personal references begin to further define the positions and character traits of the candidate. Nonetheless, there is still a tendency among some journalists to highlight race, ethnicity or gender in the mediated image or descriptive reference of the candidate.

DEBUNKING

Debunking is a crucial third phase of the confirmation paradigm. A product of either a candidate's gaffe, the opposition's strategy, or investigative reporting on a controversial issue, the debunking phase is characterized by careful scrutiny in press coverage of a questionable topic, position, minority reference or character trait. There is a noted mood change in tone and mediated image, as the press takes on a more adversarial relationship in its attempt to provide the public the "facts" needed for deliberative decision making. The campaign agenda is skewed, and the candidate is put on the defensive. In the Jackson campaign, the "Hymie-Farrakhan-Jewish" issue of February and March comprise the debunking phase of the campaign.(6)

JUDGMENT

In the judgment phase, the candidate is: 1) legitimized and therefore matriculated into a viable candidate, or 2) stereotyped on the basis of flaws and weaknesses perceived by the press, and thereby presented no longer a serious contender. The manner and style in which the candidate responds to the debunking phase will ulitmately affect the judgment phase. Here, an overall decision is rendered, at least partially by the press, on the mediated performance of the candidate in dealing with the controversial matter. Another important part of judgment is the candidate's reaction to this mediated judgment. As Jackson's campaign demonstrated, no candidate reaction to an issue presented by the press, such as that posed by Farrakhan, is judged by the press as a response in itself, and can subsequently often increase coverage on the questionable issue.(7) The damage inflicted to the Jackson campaign as a result of the "Hymie-Farrakhan-Jewish" issue seriously impeded the cndidate's efforts to maintain the black-jewish coalition, a vital part ofthe old Democratic party stucture.

CONVERSION

The final phase of the affirmation paradigm is conversion, characterized by a public recognition by the candidate that the

judgment rendered in the mediated reality in the last phase was fair, or by a mood switch by the media. In a mood switch, there is a recognition by the media of factors which suggest that a new, more objective approach to the candidate is warranted. For example, Jackson's success in the New York primary helped deflect attention away from the debunking issue, and ultimately legitimized him as a "democratic presidential nominee." If neither of the above scenarios occur, a campaign can continue on in a judgment phase until either the candidate, the press or the public takes appropriate measure, i.e. the candidate drops out of the race, the press realizes the story is no longer salient or the public protests such tactics as unfair and unwarranted.(8)

Dates and Gandy provide evidence on a conversion paradigm's applicablility to the Jackson campaign:

> Evidence suggests that quite likely coverage was transformed most noticeably after the "Hymie" incident and the related discussion of Jackson's association with the Reverend Louis Farrakhan. One could conceivably characterize that period in the campaign as a watershed, after which it became acceptable for the press to remove the "kid gloves" and treat Jackson more like the other candidates. (9)

Research from this descriptive analysis reveals that a significant mood change did occur in the mediated image of Jackson after the New York primary and in the wake of the

"Hymie-Farrakhan-Jewish" issue coverage. In Jackson's case, the debunking issue served as an example of the difficulty in piecing together an important part of the "rainbow coalition," a black-jewish alliance that had worked together well in supporting other black candidates, such as Tom Bradley in Los Angeles. (10) Nonetheless, while this important alliance was damaged along with Jackson's credibility, the candidate was able to shift the attention from the press to his success in the eastern primaries.

CONCLUSION

This study has identified differences and similarities in the manner in which four of the country's most respected newspapers covered the 1984 presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson. The analysis revealed a proclivity among some papers, particularly the New York Times, to highlight Mr. Jackson's racial heritage in either the subject matter or the mediated image in such coverage. Furthermore, it also noted mood changes in tone of coverage during the months studied. Specifically, the Tribune tended to be more critical and evaluative and less straightforward in its coverage than the other three newspapers analyzed. It was noted that the Los

Angeles Times contained the most column inches of campaign coverage, and the Washington Post featuring the most exclusive stories during the November-April time period.

The confirmation theory of press coverage was outlined and applied to the Jackson candidacy. Accordingly, in the "announcement" phase, focus was on broadening the identity of the candidate and emphasizing the historical nature of the bid for office. The "definition" phase was characterized by the candidate attempting to shape the campaign coverage compromised by the press' own ability of agenda setting. The candidate was associated with particular issues and character traits, and the press began to offer generalizations and value judgments regarding the aspirant. "Debunking" occurred as a result of a gaffe, the opposition's strategy, or investigative reporting on a controversial issue in which the candidate was put on the defensive. The press' or public's overall reaction to the candidate's performance in defense of his/her issue position, racial background, or character trait occurred in the "judgment" phase. "Conversion" was characterized by the candidate's public acceptance of judgment rendered by the press, or by a mood switch by the print media to an issue highlighted by the candidate's performance in another area.

The study suggests that Jackson's campaign was characterized by an intense debunking period in which the candidate's relationship to the Jewish issue sidetracked his efforts to keep this focus on the "rainbow coalition." It was only after the candidate's success in the New York primary that coverage once again focused on the campaign and characterized a more objective tone.

The candidate, viewed by the press as unique due to race, ethnicity or gender, who seeks office is presented with particular challenges. An important consideration is how does s/he attempt to ensure that the campaign coverage focuses on issues, rather than become permeated with attention to the novelty of race, ethnicity or gender throughout the contest? From another perspective, the dilemma is equally troubling for the journalist involved in such contests. How much attention should be given to race or ethnicity in a campaign by the reporter?

Should one adopt the view of one reporter and "mention it once and then regard race or ethnicity as no longer news"?(11) Or, is a reference to ethnicity or race throughout the political campaign necessary to provide depth to the campaign coverage?(12)

Such questions are not only of interest to journalists, candidates ad the public involved in the 1984 presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson. They are strategic concerns of supporters of Harold Washington, Wilson Goode, Andrew Young, Henry Cisneros, Tom Bradley, Frederico Pena, Geraldine Ferraro and thousands of other such candidates who have opted to seek higher office. Futher study of the campaign coverage of these and other contests can help ensure that the public is provided the quality coverage needed to make cogent decisions in such elections.

CHART 1 - COMPARISON OF COVERAGE

LOS ANGELES TIMES

	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Total
Candidates total inches	334	250	530	300	1665	875	3954
Stories, total number	12	14	39	26	73	28	192
Jackson Exclusive, number	9	11	19	13	26	12	90
Jackson Exclusive as percent of total stories	75	79	49	50	36	43	47
Jackson Exclusive as percent of Jackson stories	10	12	21	14	29	13	-

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Total
Candidates total inches	337	291	469	500	230	104	1931
Stories, total number	14	16	30	30	33	11	134
Jackson Exclusive, number	7	14	16	16	12	4	69
Jackson Exclusive as percent of total stories	50	88	53	53	36	36	51
Jackson Exclusive as percent of Jackson stories	10	20	23	23	17	6	-

WASHINGTON POST

	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Total
Candidates total inches	358	257	958	593	479	186	2821
Stories, total number	20	19	32	38	27	12	142
Jackson Exclusive, number	11	9	24	27	17	7	95
Jackson Exclusive as percent of total stories	55	47	75	71	63	58	64
Jackson Exclusive as percent of Jackson stories	12	9	25	26	18	7	-

NEW YORK TIMES

	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Total
Candidates total inches	190	460	715	738	585	790	3458
Stories, total number	9	18	23	26	34	22	132
Jackson Exclusive, number	8	13	18	18	19	11	97
Jackson Exclusive as percent of total stories	89	72	78	69	56	50	66
Jackson Exclusive as percent of Jackson stories	9	15	21	21	22	13	-

NOTES

1. D.H. Gandy, Jr. and J.L. Dates, "Ideological Constraints on the Coverage of Presidential Candidates: The Jesse Jackson Campaign and the American Press," Howard University, Paper, February, 1985, submitted to Journalism Quarterly, in press.

2. Ibid. Also see J. Barron, "The Media and Minority Groups: A Study of Adequacy of Access," Journalism Quarterly, June 1967; "Access to the Press: A New First Amendment Right," Harvard Law Review, 80, 1946-7.

3. Ibid.

4. Gandy and Dates, p. 13.

5. For and example of this phenomenon see J.G. Payne and S.C. Ratzan, "A Special Kind of Journalism: 1982 California Gubernatorial Campaign," published in the proceedings of the National Conference on Television and Ethics, Emerson College, December 1984, in press; also see S. greengard, "Tom and the Times," Los Angeles Magazine, June, 1985, 148-165; for material on the agenda-setting function of the press, see M.E. McCombs, and L. Shaw "The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly, 36 Summer, 1972, 533-538.

6. In the 1982 gubernatorial election featuring Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley against George Deukmejian, a statement by Deukmejian's campaign manager, Bill Roberts that "there was a hidden anti-black vote" skewed the campaign coverage for the final three weeks of the campaign. The Los Angeles Times coverage during the final weeks of the campaign more frequently than not included references to the Roberts "hidden anti-black vote" allegation, thus illustrating how an opposition's strategy can contribute to the debunking phase. See Payne and Ratzan.

7. In the 1982 gubernatorial campaign, Tom Bradley chose not to respond to the "hidden anti-black charge" that dominated Times coverage. Nonetheless, Times coverage continued to be permeated with speculation on the effects of the anti-black statement on the final outcome of the election.

8. In the Bradley-Deukmejian election, the Los Angeles Times coverage continued to massage the "hidden black allegation throughout the remainder of the campaign. The Los Angeles Mayor's campaign was unsuccessful in re-directing the Times attention to other issues of the campaign."

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9. Gandy and dates, p. 14.

10. Informaiton in an interview with former Deputy Mayor of Los Angeles, Maurey Weiner, September 12, 1985.

11. Opinion expressed in a telephone interview with San Diego Union reporter Susan Jetton, March 7, '984.

12. Opinion expressed in a telephone interview with Los Angeles Times reporter Dick Bergholz, September 19, 1984.